

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 18044 172207Z

65

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 18044

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR,PARM, UN, UR, US

SUBJECT: ISRAELYAN AND TIMERBAYEV ON THE SOVIET MDW PROPOSAL

REFS: A. USUN 5921 B. USUN 5423

1. SUMMARY. AN ARTICLE BY MFA INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS DIVISION DIRECTOR ISRAELYAN IN PRAVDA DECEMBER 16 DISCUSSES THE SOVIET DISARMAMENT INITIATIVES AT THE THIRTIETH UNGA, IN SO DOING REPEATING FOR THE PUBLIC THE DIFFERENTIATION HE HAS BEEN MAKING IN PRIVATE BETWEEN NEW "TYPES" AND NEW "SYSTEMS" OF WEAPONS WHICH COULD FALL UNDER THE MDW PROPOSAL. HIS DISCUSSION OF THE MDW PROPOSAL IS SUBSTANTIVE AND REASONABLY SERIOUS, WHILE THE TEST BAN PROPOSAL RECEIVES THINNER ATTENTION. HE DOES CONNECT THE MDW PROPOSAL TO POSSIBLE FUTURE CIRCUMVENTION OF SALT, AND OFFERS AS ONE EXAMPLE OF NEW "SYSTEMS" A DEFINITION WHICH COULD BE CONSTRUED TO APPLY TO CRUISE MISSILES. HE DOES NOT CRITICIZE THE U.S. AND THE EC-9 FOR ITS ABSTENTION ON THE MDW PROPOSAL, THOUGH HE LAMBASTES PEKING. ISRAELYAN'S DEPUTY TIMER-
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 18044 172207Z

BAYEV HAS TOLD US THAT HE BELIEVES THE U.S. IS STILL

SYMPATHETIC TO THE MDW IDEA, AND THAT HIS OFFICE IS NOW BUSILY ENGAGED IN A SEARCH FOR AN APPROPRIATE SOVIET EXPERT TO SEND TO CCD IN MARCH TO BEGIN WORK ON DEVELOPING AN MDW DEFINITION. END SUMMARY.

2. THE PRAVDA COMMENTARY, BY "V. LEVONOV," (I.E., VIKTOR LEVONOVICH ISRAELYAN) DISCUSSES SUBSTANTIVELY AND AT LENGTH THE MASS DESTRUCTION WEAPONS (MDW) PROPOSAL WHILE ITS PRONOUNCEMENTS ON THE COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN PROPOSAL (CTB) ARE PRO FORMA AND TO SOME DEGREE DEFENSIVE.

3. ON THE MDW PROPOSAL, "LEVONOV" NOTES THAT IT ENVISAGES "AN AGREEMENT, THE BASIS OF WHICH WOULD BE THE OBLIGATION TO PROHIBIT NEW TYPES AND SYSTEMS" OF MASS DESTRUCTION WEAPONS. HIS DISCUSSION IMPLICITLY EXPLAINS WHAT HE HAS IN MIND BY "TYPES" AND "SYSTEMS." "TYPES," WE GATHER FROM HIS ARTICLE, ARE MDW WEAPONS "WHICH ARE BASED ON PHYSICAL PROPERTIES (I.E., PRINCIPLES) WHICH ARE FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT FROM THOSE USED IN EXISTING WEAPONS." "SYSTEMS" REFERS TO "NEW SYSTEMS WHICH USE ALREADY EXISTING WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION."

4. "LEVONOV" WRITES THAT "IT MAY PROVE NECESSARY TO DEFINE NEW TYPES OF WEAPONS DURING THE COURSE OF NEGOTIATIONS," EXPLAINING THAT THERE ARE MANY DIFFERENT OPINIONS ON WHICH WEAPONS WOULD BE CONSIDERED TO FALL INTO THAT CATEGORY. HE GIVES THREE EXAMPLES, HOWEVER: (1) HE REFERS TO THE U.S. NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES' CALL FOR A MORATORIUM ON THE CARRYING OUT OF "SEVERAL AREAS OF RESEARCH," THOUGH DOES NOT SAY WHICH AREAS THESE WERE; (2) HE REFERS TO A CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR ARTICLE ON WEAPONS WHICH COULD BE PRODUCED FROM ELEMENTS HEAVIER THAN URANIUM; AND (3) HE PARAPHRASES FROM A BOOK BY THE U.S. AUTHOR JAMES CANNON ("SUPERWAR") ON THE DANGERS OF DEVELOPMENTS IN LASER WEAPONS.

5. HIS DISCUSSION ON THE POSSIBILITIES OF NEW "SYSTEMS" DEVELOPMENT GIVES ONLY ONE EXAMPLE, WHICH IN FACT INCLUDES BOTH "TYPES" AND "SYSTEMS": "THE CREATION OF FUNDAMENTALLY NEW TYPES AND SYSTEMS OF WEAPONS OPENS THE POS-

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 18044 172207Z

SIBILITY, ON THE ONE HAND, OF CIRCUMVENTING LIMITATIONS IN THE FIELD OF STRATEGIC WEAPONS, AS ONE EXAMPLE, AND ON THE OTHER HAND, OF CREATING CHEAPER AND MORE EASILY PRODUCES THOUGH AT THE SAME TIME MORE DESTRUCTIVE TYPES OF WEAPONS."

6. "LEVONOV'S" DISCUSSION OF THE CTB PROPOSAL IS NOTEWORTHY ONLY BECAUSE OF ITS DEFENSIVE TONE ON THE NEED

FOR SIGNATURE BY ALL NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES BEFORE SUCH A CONVENTION WOULD ENTER INTO FORCE. HE DEVOTES ONE SENTENCE TO RESERVING THE RIGHT TO PNE'S, AS HE DOES FOR PEACEFUL USE OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGY DEVELOPMENTS IN HIS DISCUSSION ON THE MDW PROPOSAL.

7. HE RECOUNTS THE NUMBER OF DELEGATIONS WHICH VOTED FOR EACH OF THE RESOLUTIONS, BUT SINGLES OUT THE PRC-- WHICH IS ONE THE RECEIVING END OF A FULL PARAGRAPH OF ABUSE--AS HAVING VOTED AGAINST THEM. HE ALSO MENTIONS THAT "MANY NON-ALIGNED AND WESTERN STATES" CALLED FOR A CAREFUL EXAMINATION OF THE PROPSOALS.

8. COMMENT: OTHER THAN THAT PORTION OF "LEVONOV67" ARTICLE WHICH COULD BE CONSTURED TO BE REFERRING TO CRUISE MISSILES (QUOTED IN ITS ENTIRELY IN PARA 5 ABOVE), THE PIECE CONTAINS LITTLE NEW INFORMATION. IT DOES CONTINUE ISRAELYAN'S EARLIER SOMETIME PRACTICE (REFTELS) OF IMPLYING AN MDW CONNECTION TO SALT. HE EXPLANATION OF "TYPES" AND "SYSTEMS" FOLLOWS CLOSELY THAT OF ISRAELYAN DURING HIS CALLS IN THE DEPARTMENT (MEMCON WITH ADMIRAL DAVIES ON OCTOBER 24, 1975).

9. NOTEWORTHY, HOWEVER, IS THE ABSENCE OF ANY CRITICISM OF THE WEST FOR ITS ABSTENTION ON THE MDW RESOLUTION. IN A CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF DECEMBER 15, ISRAELYAN'S DEPUTY TIMERBAYEV SAID THAT HE REGARDED THE U.S. "VETO" (SIC) "A SYMPATHETIC VETO," AND HE IMPLIED THAT HE EXPECTED THE U.S. TO BE WILLING TO COOPERATE ON DEVELOPING THE DRAFT OF A MDW CONVENTION. TIMERBAYEV SAID THAT HIS MFA DIVISION (INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS) HAD BEEN WORKING ON THE IDEA FOR SEVERAL YEARS, BUT IMPLIED THAT BREZHNEV'S PUBLIC INITIATIVE JUNE 13 HAD COME FROM CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MOSCOW 18044 172207Z

THAT MAN HIMSELF WITHOUT PROMPTING. TIMERBAYEV ADDED THAT BREZHNEV'S ASSISTANT ALEKSANDROV, WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR ARMS CONTROL MATTERS AS WELL AS FOR THE U.S., WAS AWARE OF MFA INTEREST IN THE IDEA AND MAY HAVE SUGGESTED IT TO BREZHNEV.

10. TIMERBAYEV CONFESSED THAT MFA HAD TRIED CANVASSING EXPERTS TO COME UP WITH A LIST OF NEW TYPES OF WEAPONS WHICH COULD BE PROHIBITED, BUT WITH EXEPTION OF "TRANS-URANIUM WEAPONS," HAD FINALLY GIVE UP. BUT, HE SAID, AN EFFORT WAS NOW BEING MADE TO CHOOSE AN EXPERT OR GROUP OF EXPERTS WHO COULD BE SENT TO THE CCD IN MARCH TO BEGIN WORK ON DEVELOPING A SUITABLE DEFINITION. HE SAID THAT THE "7S. ENMOD APPROACH" OF NOT DEFINING SPECIFIC TYPES, BUT RATHER BASING THE PROHIBITION ON

THE EFFECT PRODUCED BY WEAPONS, APPEARED TO BE THE
BEST BET. HE SAID THAT HE BELIVED THAT THE BEST
BACKGROUND FOR EXPERTS WHO WOULD BE TAKING PART IN
NEGOTIATIONS ON THE ISSUE WOULD BE THAT OF A "MILITARY
SCIENTIST--SUCH AS ONE FINDS IN THE OFFICE OF WEAPONS
DEVELOPMENT IN THE PENTAGON." HE ADDED THAT THE SEARCH
FOR AN APPROPRIATE SOVIET EXPERT OR GROUP OF EXPERTS IS
PROCEEDING APACE, "SINCE WE ASSUME THE QUESTION WILL BE
ADDRESSED WITH SOME URGENCY" AT THE CCD. HE ALSO
COMMENTED THAT HE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT THE "PUGWASH
PEOPLE" SUCH AS EMEL'YANOV WOULD PLAY MUCH OF A ROLE IN
DEVELOPING SOVIET POSITIONS ON MDW.
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